

I: Karsten--35
754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"If one asks Palati about his power in practising witchcraft he pretends to know nothing about it. 'Jesús Maria, I am a Christian', he answers, devoutly making the sign of the cross. Witchcraft, it should be understood, is one of those superstitions of the Indians which the Catholic Fathers are most anxious to eradicate, and the Indians in fact only practise their magic art in secret. However, to a white man in Eastern Ecuador whom he knew well Palati had spoken very frankly. 'I am so hard that no magic arrow is able to harm me', he had said, 'and this is the reason why I have grown so old. On the other hand, I have not seen the Indian who was able to resist my own chunta arrows.'"

1: Karsten--149-152
116, 278, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The poison cook is not an ordinary medicine-man, he is nevertheless a kind of sorcerer, since the making of the poison, as we shall presently see, is a sort of magical or religious ceremony. It is clear that the poison can only be prepared by a man who possesses the necessary knowledge and experience. Among the Canelos Indians the poison cooks are generally two men, both elderly, who know how to influence the particular demons active in the poisonous plants. The cooking cannot take place in the house, but only in the forest, where the sorcerers can enter into direct communication with the spirits of the plants. Similarly, the pots in which the poisonous ingredients are boiled must be specially made for the purpose by the cooks themselves. Pots which have been previously used [150] for other purposes, for instance for cooking food, will not do. Ordinary cooking pots would also be useless because of the salt which the Canelos Indians put into their food, for salt, which is regarded as an antidote against the arrow-poison, must not come into contact with it. The poison cooks prepare themselves for their work by fasting one day previously, being allowed to eat only roasted green plantains without salt. Nor can they have intercourse with their wives.

The cooking takes place in a shelter of palm leaves made in the interior of the forest about half a day's march from home. At a short distance from this shelter, nearer to the home, there is another shelter. The latter may be visited by other men and even boys who help in the work by carrying pots and fuel, and especially by bringing

1: Karsten--149-152
116, 278, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

the enormous quantity of material of all sorts of lianas, roots, fruits, and rinds from which the poison is prepared. Into the second shelter where the cooking takes place, only the two poison cooks may enter. Women again are strictly forbidden to come near either of the shelters and must keep away from the work as much as possible.

Four large new clay vessels, like those used for brewing manioc-beer, are necessary for the boiling. These are brought to the second shelter by the poison cooks, who also carry thither the different plants required, and these are already partly prepared.

The cooking requires a period of eight days in all. The first two days are for the preparation of the material, since, as we have seen, the numerous plants, roots, and lianas have first to be cleaned, peeled off, mashed, and so forth. This rough work is mostly done in the first shelter and, as already mentioned, even boys may assist at it.

The cooking can only take place at night, and the fuel used must consist solely of the hard wood of the chonta palm; only thus, it is believed, will the poison be effective. Towards the night of the second day the fires are kindled, the boiling begins and continues the whole night until dawn. Nothing further is done during that day, but on the following night the cooking is continued. After the poison has thus boiled for two successive nights, there is an interval of two days and two nights during which it is untouched. Then the cooking begins again and continues for two successive nights, when the cooking is finished and the poison is ready.

L: Karsten--147-152
116, 278, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

During the whole of the boiling only a small fire is kept burning; the process must be slow and gradual. When different poisons are boiled together in the big pot, the boiling is done over a slow fire until part of [151] the liquid evaporates and it becomes as thick as syrup or honey. The colour of the arrow-poison when boiled is dark brown.

All this time the cooks remain in the forest. They have to fast strictly, being allowed to eat only two roasted green plantains a day without salt; they are also allowed to drink manioc-beer. This food, however, must be consumed in the first shelter whither it is brought by a man; in the shelter where the cooking is done they may not eat or drink anything. If they do not fast strictly, and particularly if they eat salt or sweet things, the poison will be useless. During the work the cooks chant conjurations and incantation formulae by which the demons (supai) of the poisonous plants are summoned and favourably influenced. Besides this, they may speak only when absolutely necessary and then they must talk in a subdued voice.

Those days when the cooks are not engaged in boiling the poison, they are busy carving the arrows for which the poison is to be used.

They are strictly forbidden to have intercourse with women, and the latter, as pointed out before, are not allowed even to come near the place where the important ceremony is being performed. If a woman does come near, the poison will be completely spoiled, and if the woman has a sucking babe at home, the babe will die. The

1: Karsten--149-152
116, 278, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-4

poison cooks retire to the forest partly in order to be safe from the curiosity of the women.

The Indians believe that each of the plants used in preparing the arrow-poison is inhabited by a spirit or demon (súpai) to whom its poisonous properties are due. It is this demon that kills the victim when the poisoned arrow pierces his body. This is why the arrow-poison is also called súpai hámbi, 'the devil's medicine'. The spirit inhabiting the plants is influenced, as it were 'developed', compelled to concentrate its power, by the way the poison is prepared, and by the conjurations and incantations pronounced, just as, for instance, the spirit of the manioc plant is concentrated in the fermented manioc-beer. The poison cooks are thoroughly convinced of this fact, and the precautions they observe as well as the secrecy in which they veil their operations are due to this very belief. The spirit which is conjured and coerced is very angry and tries to harm its subduers. The poisonous gases which rise from the boiling pot are an expression of the anger of the tormented demon. The cooks therefore try to avoid, as far as possible, inhaling the harmful vapours which, they assert, make them ill. When they come home from the forest they are in fact pale and weak and behave as if they were more or less sick because they have had intercourse with the demons [152] of the poisons. It is probable, however, that their weak state is due more to the strict fasting than to the effects of the poisonous vapours.

1: Karsten--149-152

116, 278, 754

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-9

As soon as the poison is ready, its efficacy is tested upon a frog, which is shot with a poisoned arrow. If the frog soon dies, this is a proof that the poison is strong, since frogs are tenacious of life.

Salt and sugar are antidotes against the poison or are, at any rate, regarded as antidotes. If an Indian has accidentally been wounded by a poisoned arrow, a small quantity of salt is dissolved in water and given him to drink. The Indians assert that in this case the harmful effects of the poison will fail to appear.

The same holds true of sugar. Real hunters among the Jibaros and Canelos Indians abstain entirely from chewing sugar cane and eating sweet things, because they believe that they will lose the power of catching animals and birds of the forest with poisoned arrows.

Only edible animals can be brought down with poisoned arrows. If some 'demoniacal' or otherwise useless animal, bird, or reptile--for instance a vulture or a snake--is shot with it, the poison will completely lose its efficacy and it will be impossible to bring down any game with it.

The poison works only when it enters the blood where it brings about an instant coagulation and a paralysis of the muscles, and the Indians realize that--just as happens with the venom of snakes--it spreads rapidly round the whole body through the circulation of the blood. If the poison does not penetrate into the blood it does not

cause death, at any rate not so quickly; it is even possible to swallow an insignificant quantity of it without risk, if only the person doing it has no wound in his mouth or in the intestines. When the Canelos Indian buys poison and wants to try whether it is active and strong, he takes a little of it on his tongue, to form an opinion as to its quality from its taste. (1)"

"1. The sample of the arrow-poison of the Canelos Indians which I brought to the Gothenburg museum has recently been physiologically examined by Professor C. G. Santesson in Stockholm. See his 'Pfeilgiftstudien. Eine Kurareprobe aus Ecuador' in Skandinavisches Archiv für Physiologie, 1934. Band LXVIII. --The great number of different plants used by the Canelos Indians in the preparation of the arrow-poison, of which at any rate the majority are poisonous, clearly stamps as erroneous the opinion held by many toxicologists, that the alcaloid existing in the Strychnos species is the only really effective ingredient in the arrow-poison. See my articles 'Notes on South American Arrow-poison' in Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Comment. Human. litt. VI. 4. 1933, and 'Addenda to my Notes on South America Arrow-poison' Ibid. Comment. Hum. Litt. VI. 7. 1934, the latter article being a reply to Santesson's article 'Bemerkung über südamerikanisches Pfeilgift', Ibid. VI. 5."

l: Karsten--155

116, 224, 754

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Certain demoniacal animals and birds, like snakes, the nose-bear, vultures, owls, and hawks, are never shot with poisoned arrows. The poison in that case would entirely lose its efficacy and it would become impossible to bring down any edible animals and birds with it. The animals mentioned, it should be understood, are particularly detested by the Jibaros because they believe that the witch-doctors are in the habit of sending off their magic arrows by these very animals. This superstition of the Jibaros will be further dealt with in the chapters on their religion.

Nor are poisoned arrows nowadays used by the Indians in war. If a human being is killed with a poisoned arrow, that poison can no longer be used for hunting animals that are eaten. An animal killed with such poison would assume the same taste as human flesh, and no Jibaro Indian would dare to touch it."

l: Karsten--159-161
116, 278, 825, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"In studying the Indian blowgun in detail and the ideas connected with the arrow-poison, one is necessarily led to the question of how the Indians of tropical South America originally came to invent such a thing as the poisoned arrow and to use it in the way they do. An answer pre-[160]sents itself to any one able to enter into their theory of witchcraft and magic in general. In this respect there are three phenomena especially which greatly influence the imagination of the Indians: the first is the bite of the venomous snake, the second the mysterious magical arrow which the wizard lets off against his victim, causing his death, the third the poison he himself uses to bring down animals and birds. That to the Indian mind there is an intimate connection between these three phenomena becomes clear to everybody who is acquainted with the magical ideas or 'superstitions' of the Indians. Moreover, there can be no doubt as to which of the three was the primary link in the association series: it is the bite of the venomous snake. In all parts of tropical South America the venomous reptiles occupy the same important place in the native's world of demons; few others of the surrounding natural phenomena have stirred the imagination of the Indians in the same way as these. The venomous snake attacks its victim noiselessly, the wound inflicted by it is quite insignificant and yet causes death. In the whole action there is something mysterious or, to the mind of the Indian, supernatural. As a matter of fact, all Indian tribes in different parts of South America seem to have the same idea about poisonous snakes: with the venom of

the reptile an evil demon enters the body of the person bitten and causes his death. This demon is called súpai by the Quichua-speaking Indians, wakáni or iguánchi by the Jibaros. But they go still further in their theory: the súpai or wakáni in question is in reality nothing else than the soul of an evil wizard, perhaps still living, who temporarily takes the shape of the reptile in order to kill or harm an enemy. The bite of the snake was only the magical arrow of the sorcerer, the súpai or wakáni which killed the patient was really his demoniacal soul, identical with the poison permeating--according to the Indians--his whole organism. I found this belief among all the Indian tribes I studied, and I have no doubt that it is common to all tribes of tropical South America. These primitive ideas will be further elucidated in the part dealing with the religion of the Indians. In this connection I only wish to point out that there is also an interesting parallelism between the operation of the sorcerer and that of the Indian hunter who, with his 'natural' poisoned arrow, brings down the creatures of the wood. (The Jibaros, for instance, call the poisoned arrow tsinsáka, and they give the same name to the mysterious invisible magical arrow used by the wizards, although there is also another name for it: tunchi. The magical arrow (tsinsáka) of the sorcerer, it is true, may assume different forms, but mostly it is sup-[161] posed to be like a small arrow. The wizard shoots his arrow from his mouth by blowing and a movement with his finger, just as the Indian, shooting with his blowgun, lets off his poisoned arrow by blowing it out.

l: Karsten--159-161
116, 278, 825, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

In short, the venomous snake inflicting a deadly bite on his victim is nothing but an evil wizard operating through that snake, and vice versa, the Indian wizard, in his mysterious manipulations with the invisible magical arrow, is imitating a snake. On the other hand, the Indian hunter, who noiselessly lets off his poisoned arrow against an animal and kills it without inflicting any visible wound on it, is also a kind of wizard, since the poison with which he operates is believed to possess supernatural demoniacal effects.

The Indians, like primitive folk in general, are keen observers. It seems highly probable that precisely the mysterious way in which the venomous snakes operate, when by an insignificant bite they bring death to their victim, has suggested to their mind the idea that they may imitate them and invent a weapon which will act in the same way as the snake's poison. The thorough knowledge they possessed of the poisonous properties of certain plants helped them in their endeavours to construct that weapon, and it is evident that the arrow-poison is meant as an imitation of the venom of the snake. It is significant that according to the statement of the English traveller Waterton --the first, I believe, who studied the ourali poison of the Guiana Indians--the Macusis in preparing their arrow-poison not only used vegetable ingredients like the Strychnos toxifera, but also certain animal ingredients, namely, the fangs of the counacouchi and

1: Karsten--159-161
116. 278. 825, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-4

labarri snakes, two of the most venomous snakes of tropical South America, which were pounded and mixed into the poison. When the Macusi Indian killed one of these snakes, he always extracted the fangs for use in the preparation of the arrow-poison. (1) This of course was pure superstition, but the association of ideas is interesting and shows what part superstitious ideas in general, and especially those prevailing in regard to venomous snakes, has played in the invention of the Indian arrow-poison."

"1. Cf. Waterton, Wanderings in South America, London, 1828, pp. 55 sqq."

l: Karsten--187
754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"A man may of course in many cases be little inclined to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is old and he has already two or more wives. To escape that obligation he may accuse her of having taken the life of her former husband by secret means. 'You have killed your husband with poison', he may say. If he succeeds in rousing the suspicion that she has committed such a crime--which is not altogether unknown in the Jibaro community--the widow may be killed."

l: Karsten--209-211
116, 585, 754, 845

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The ceremonies practised on the wedding-night itself are of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians custom forbids the bridegroom to spend the first night with his bride. That night is spent by him not only in another room but even in another house. The practice is due to fear of evil, supernatural powers. If the bridegroom spends the first night with his young wife, it is believed he will soon die, and his wife too is exposed to supernatural dangers. The Indians of Canelos know a sort [210] of jus primae noctis, but the 'right' in question is not claimed by the medicine-man or chief but by the evil demon, called supai, and the bridegroom, fearing the revenge of the demon, voluntarily cedes the right to him. However, the following night is also critical, since it is believed that the demon wants to continue having the woman and is jealous of her husband. The first nuptial embrace, which takes place in the presence of the whole assembly invited to the feast, is therefore, at any rate in some cases, arranged in the following way. The bride is placed in the bed which is made of split bamboo. On her bosom two bananas are placed in such a way that they easily fall down at her movements. These bananas represent the first children to which the woman will give birth and which, it is feared, may possibly be twins owing to the interest taken in the woman by the supai. The bananas are therefore called palánda huahua, i. e. 'the banana babes'. Under the bed a little boy is placed. When the young couple embrace each other the bananas fall to the ground, one after the other, and the boy hidden under

1: Karsten--209-211
116, 585, 754, 845

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

the bed at once catches them crying out, 'Now the babe arrived '! Then he comes forth and presents the first banana to the assembly, the other one being thrown away. A man steps forward and offers himself as comparu (god-father) of the newborn child. He receives the banana which is carefully wrapped in a cloth, and gives it a name. The 'banana babe' is afterwards placed above on the roof of the house, where it is kept until the real firstborn child arrives. Then the same Indian presents himself to be the god-father of the child, and the same name is given to it as was before given to the banana.

In order to understand this curious custom we have first of all to take into consideration that the Canelos Indians have a superstitious dread of twins, owing to reasons which will presently be explained more fully. By thus dramatically representing the very thing they fear may happen, namely, that the bride shall first bring forth twins, where the supai or demon is the father of the second child, the Indians hope to prevent that ominous eventuality. The incident has in mimicry been anticipated in the arrangement with the two bananas and will not therefore take place in reality. The fact that the first nuptial embrace is public in the way we have seen, is due to the idea that thus the evil spirit may be prevented from harming the couple.

The ceremony at the wedding-night is not always the one just described, when two bananas are used to represent twins. In some cases the Canelos Indians by the

1: Karsten--209-211

116, 585, 754, 845

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

ceremony in question only aim at neutra-[211]lizing in general, the possible harmful effects proceeding from the demon, and to secure a happy first delivery. Instead of using two bananas, they only use a manioc root which is wrapped in a piece of linen and placed on the bride's bosom, just as is in [sic] done other cases with the bananas. The rest of the ceremony is the same, a boy being hidden under the bed, who has to catch the manioc and present is [sic] as the 'first-born babe', and so forth.

It is not only the first nights that are believed to be critical for the newly-married pair. Generally the demon is supposed to continue molesting the young woman for some time, visiting her at night in dreams and trying to have intercourse with her even though she sleeps with her husband. In the morning the woman tells her husband that the supái has molested her in a dream. The husband summons a medicine-man, who first drinks the narcotic aya huasca to ascertain the true nature and origin of the importunate demon. Thereupon he prepares a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called pétun cara, and gives the decoction to the woman to drink. This medicine is supposed to kill the demon and thus to rid the woman of his nightly visits.

The decoction of the vine shigshi huasca or the rind pétun cara is commonly used by the Canelos women as a means of abortion in general. But abortion most frequently seems to take place just in cases when the pregnancy of the woman is believed to have

1: Karsten--209-211
116, 585, 754, 845

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-4

been caused by a demon and is consequently due to superstition.

For the husband himself there is, owing to the jealousy of the demon, the constant danger that he may die on the spot on having intercourse with his wife, and this is particularly supposed to be the case if the woman is young and pretty. Sometimes the danger is not believed to be wholly over until two or three children have been born of the marriage.

As I have stated before the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

1: Karsten--235 [2]

116, 852, 754

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"When the first teeth of the child get loose, they are not thrown away but carefully kept on the roof of the house 'in order that the rats or other animals may not eat them'. This custom is due to the belief in a mysterious connection between the child and the detached teeth."

1: Karsten--269-270

116, 754, 627

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Since supposed sorcery is nearly always the nearest cause of murders within the tribe, it is clear that the professional sorcerers or medi-[270] cine men are those members of Jibaro society which are most frequently exposed to the revengeful attacks of their enemies. As a matter of fact, in large Indian societies sorcerers are very often assassinated, or at least threatened with death, by their enemies. When a medicine-man has undertaken to cure a sick person and the latter dies in spite of the treatment, the 'doctor' is also generally made responsible for the death, the relatives of the dead reasoning that the medicine-man, instead of curing the patient, on the contrary used his art to kill him. The unsuccessful curer is therefore murdered unless he escapes by flight. Since the Jibaros, on the whole, do not recognize what we call a natural death but always attribute a death to supernatural causes, any death among them tends to give rise to a murder, the relatives of the deceased considering it as their duty to take revenge upon the supposed author of the accident."

1: Karsten--270

116, 754, 887

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"....among the Jibaros the professional medicine-men are not the only persons who know about sorcery and witchcraft. Most old men, and especially the chiefs, are more or less initiated in the art."

1: Karsten--275-277

116, 619, 721, 754

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Between the different tribes in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros there exists almost perpetual enmity, and destructive wars are often carried out, especially between neighbouring tribes. The tribes on the Rio Paute thus are generally hostile to those living on the Rio Upano and Santiago and the latter, in their turn, to the tribes inhabiting the vast regions around the Morona and the Pastaza. The tribes of the Rio Chiguaza, a small affluent of the upper Pastaza, are mortal enemies of the Jibaros living on the Rio Capotaza between the upper Pastaza [276] and Bobonaza. All wild Jibaros on the Pastaza have for many years waged real wars of extermination against the half-civilized Canelos Indians on the Bobonaza, and so on. It is characteristic of the Jibaros that they especially wage war against tribes belonging to their own race and speaking the same language. To an such extent has this been the rule for centuries that the word shuara, 'Jibaros Indian', has become synonymous with the word 'enemy'. 'My enemy' in the Jibaros language is winya shuara. It is not easy to state what originally has been the cause of this enmity. Generally speaking, one may say that it has originated in the jealousy and rivalry existing between the different tribes, a rivalry personalized in the proud and ambitious chiefs who stand at the head of the different tribes. One chief tries to surpass another one in war-like deeds and cannot endure seeing his rival increase in wealth, power, and influence. Again, the enmity of the wild Indians against the Canelos Indians seems to be due chiefly to the latter

1; Karsten--275-277
116, 619, 721, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

having submitted themselves to the Christian influence and in making themselves dependent upon the whites. But, in addition to this, even with regard to the hostility reigning between the different tribes, superstition--the belief in witchcraft--plays its fatal part, this being nearly always the principal cause of the wars. The rival chiefs combat each other not merely by natural means, but also with the supernatural weapon which is called tunchi (in Quichua chunta), for a great Jibaro chief is as skilled in witchcraft as a professional sorcerer. In order to bewitch a person it is, according to the idea of the Indians, not absolutely necessary that one should be quite near the victim. Those sorcerers and chiefs who are experienced in the art are able to send the fatal arrow a long distance, often many miles. If in a tribe, and especially within the family of the chief, in a short time various cases of disease, death, or accidents of other kinds occur, these are generally set down to the evil machinations of the sorcerers in a hostile neighbouring tribe. Thus, for instance, the Jibaro chief Nayapi on the Pastaza, and the old Canelos chief Palati on the Bobonaza had for many years been enemies and had sent menacing messages to each other. In the family of Nayapi within a comparatively short time several deaths took place--two of his sons, one daughter, and his son-in-law dying from mysterious diseases or through accidents. Nayapi said that his enemy Palati was the cause of all these deaths by systematically letting off his magic arrows against Nayapi and his family. Palati, again, by no means denied that this was so, but, on the contrary, confirmed it, menacingly announcing that he would,

l: Karsten--275-277

116, 619, 721, 754

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-3

gradually [277] exterminate Nayapi's whole family. The latter was seized with wrath and desire for revenge, and certainly would have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon his enemy if regard for the Catholic monks, under whose protection Palati stood, had not made him abstain from carrying it out. It may be added that the Canelos Indians, although Christians by name, are known as exceedingly clever wizards, even the savage Jibaros acknowledging their superiority to themselves in this art."

1: Karsten--279

116, 628, 754

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"When among the Jibaros a family father, especially a chief or a great warrior, dies, and a medicine-man, by drinking natéma, has established not only that death has been caused by witchcraft but also who the wizard is, it is incumbent on his nearest male relations, and first of all on his sons, to take revenge on the supposed assassin. At the death-bed of the father they make a solemn promise to fulfil this duty. Often the sons alone carry out the sanguinary business. If the sorcerer has many supporters they join the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased. Sometimes the conspirators also ask the advice of the chief of the tribe, but the latter generally does not take part in such a private feud unless he has some personal interest in it."

"On this point we first notice a striking feature in the psychology of these Indians: they do not know of such a thing as natural death. The Jibaro Indian in his natural state certainly realizes that death is due to the destruction of the body and to the definitive separation between it and the animating principle, the wakani or soul, but about the causes of this radical change he is not able to form an exact theory. Death is always to him something unintelligible, unnatural and accidental. It must in each particular case have a special cause, or more strictly speaking, it can only be due to the malicious machinations either of another man or of a supernatural being. The young and strong chonta palm does not fall to the ground unless the axe is put to its root, or the violent hurricane breaks its stem, or some other external force causes its destruction. Just as little will a strong, healthy man in his best years die, except at the direct or the indirect instigation of an open or secret enemy. The Indians thus, at least theoretically, seem to acknowledge natural death only for very old persons whose bodily frame falls into decay by virtue of the same natural law as the huge tree of the virgin forest, rotten from age. Practically, however, they seldom or never recognize such cases. It is interesting to note the fact that even with regard to decrepit men nearly a hundred years old, when ultimately they fall ill and die, the usual theory of witchcraft as the immediate [394] cause of the catastrophe is nearly always adhered to, especially when the symptoms answer to the ideas held as to this kind of evil.

1: Karsten--393-394

116, 761, 774, 754

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

A death among the Jibaros, therefore, conveys the same idea as a murder, although the murderer is not necessarily a living man but may also be a supernatural being, a demon. To tell a Jibaro Indian that some time or other he must die, is to his mind extraordinarily tactless; it is almost the same as to tell him that some time or other he will be murdered. This being the case, we can understand how easily any case of sickness or death may lead to an assassination and to endless feuds, the relatives of the deceased regarding it as a sacred duty to wreak vengeance upon the supposed evil-doer."

"From what has been stated about the medicine-men in the previous pages, for instance in connection with the demons appearing in the shape of wild animals, birds, and reptiles, we may conclude that they form a class of extraordinary importance in the Jibaro community. Among the Jibaros, as among the Canelos Indians, the medicine-man is the physician of the community, not a priest. His chief business [sic] is to kill or harm other people--his own enemies or those of his tribe--with sorcery, and to cure evils sent by enemy sorcerers. He is not particularly a 'weather-doctor', i. e. a man that professes to influence the weather for good or evil. Although magical practices of this kind occur among the Jibaros, they can be performed by any member of the community and do not form part of the special functions of the medicine-men. Nor do they concern themselves with such ceremonies as are of a marked religious character, as for instance the rites and incantations performed in honour of Nungüi and her husband Shakaëma for agriculture. Divination consisting of drinking the narcotics natéma or maikoa is continually practised by the medicine-men, but chiefly in connection with their medical treatment."

1: Karsten--399-400
116, 791, 754

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"I frequently use the expression 'medicine-man and sorcerer', indicating thereby that these conceptions are not exactly synonymous. A medicine-man is certainly always a sorcerer, but a sorcerer need not necessarily be a professional medicine-man. Thus old warriors and chiefs are generally more or less initiated in the magic art; in fact, they [400] fight their enemies not only with their natural weapons but also with their magical 'arrows' (tunchi). Yet they do not exercise the art of sorcery professionally and are seldom seen curing persons bewitched by other sorcerers. In this account I shall as a rule use the words 'sorcerer' or 'wizard' with reference to black or nefarious magic, whereas 'medicine-man' is a general appellation for a person practising the magic art. The Jibaros have only one word for denoting a medicine-man or sorcerer; wishinyu."

1: Karsten--406-407

116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"As we have seen, the function of the medicine-man includes, on the one hand, the infliction of evils upon other people by witchcraft, on the other hand, the curing of people bewitched by other sorcerers.

First we shall examine how the medicine-man proceeds when bewitching his enemies.

To throw the magic arrow or bewitch another person is among the JIBAROS called waweátinyu (the inf. form; 3 pers. sing. wawéama).

When a wishinyu or medicine-man wants to bewitch another Indian he prepares himself for the operation by fasting for five days. During these days he contents himself with the same scanty food as was prescribed for him at the time of initiation, eating only some boiled green plantains, mashed in water. He abstains from drinking manioc-beer, but repeatedly takes tobacco water through the nose, the leaves of the plant being boiled in a small clay pot partly filled with water. Every evening he drinks the narcotic natéma in order to see the spirits and be instructed by them in regard to the kind of 'arrow' he ought to use and other particulars. The action always takes place in the dark, when the demons move about. When ready to shoot his tunchi, the sorcerer takes tobacco water, coughs and hawks up something which he seizes with his fingers, mutters a sort of conjuration, addressed to the arrow, whistles, and makes a peculiar movement with his finger. The name of the Indian to be bewitched must be mentioned in the conjuration. Supposing that his name is Andiche, the medicine-man addresses the tunchi in the

1: Karsten--406-407

116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

following words:

Amuesha, tsinsáka,
Andiche numba umarta,
namankisha yuota
kuranta matinyu. [407]

that is:

'You arrow,
may you drink the blood of Andiche
and eat his flesh,
so that he may die quickly!'

The wizard subsequently shoots the arrow with a blowing movement. He may be quite near his victim, or he may hit him at a considerable distance. Thus a person may be bewitched while he sits quietly in his house in the evening, conversing with other people. The hostile sorcerer steals to the house, covered by the darkness, and shoots his invisible arrow through a crack in the wall. At the same moment the victim inside the house will feel an acute pain in the chest, give a start and say to his comrades: 'I feel ill, something has happened to me, I must have been bewitched'. The wizard, having accomplished his deed, sneaks away."

1: Karsten--407
116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, when a sorcerer wants to discharge his 'chonta' at an enemy, he fasts for two days previously, eating only green plantains and taking tobacco water in repeated doses. Every evening he drinks aya huasca in order to communicate with the demons. Sorcery is practised at night. The wizard secures a black wasp with a poisonous sting, fixes three small chonta thorns to its abdomen, and sends it off with the following formula: 'Chai runáta yaicugri; cutin tigramúngi; chapashámi chishi; allita mikushca shamúngi, nyúca nishcata pactachispa. i. e. 'May you enter into that man (the name of the Indian is mentioned); may you return later on; I will wait for you at night; having nicely eaten his flesh may you return after executing my order'.

The invisible arrow of the sorcerer is supposed to enter into the victim through his throat or his chest, just as if he were hit by a real arrow. If a medicine-man is not able to extract the arrow, he will grow worse and worse and die within a few days. The demon, having left the 'arrow' in the patient's body, returns to his master."

"Frequently, however, the sorcerer hits his victim while the latter is far away in another village or part of the country. In such cases he does not generally shoot his arrow at him directly but through the mediation of some demoniacal animal, bird, reptile, or insect. The latter are, among the JIBAROS, called tunchima or 'bewitched'. A medicine-man may thus hide his tunchi or his own demoniacal soul in a jaguar, [408] a nocturnal bird, a venomous snake, or a poisonous insect like a wasp or a scorpion. These creatures he sends away, with the usual formula of conjuration, to distant places where they will encounter his intended victim. Birds are, by their flight, believed to be especially able to carry the tunchi far away, but the success with which a medicine-man is able to use such agents of the animal world naturally always depends on his own skill and experience. The very fact that for instance a jaguar or a venomous snake assumes an aggressive attitude towards man, killing or harming him, is regarded as a sufficient proof that the beast or reptile is tunchima, i. e. has been sent by an enemy wizard.

The following instance may illustrate the Indian idea of 'bewitched' or demoniacal animals. A wife of the Jibaro sorcerer Shakaëma on the Rio Upano one day went out to fetch manioc from the plantations. While she was engaged in the work she noticed a black vulture which came flying towards her from the north in such a way that it at once attracted her attention. The vulture alighted on the ground at a little distance from the

l: Karsten--407-408
116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

woman, looking at her. At the same moment she felt an acute pain in the chest, as if she had been hit by an invisible arrow. She got frightened and was at once seized with the suspicion that she had been bewitched. She tried to chase away the fatal bird with her machete, but it only flew a short distance and alighted again, steadily looking at her. The pain in the chest increased. The woman hurriedly returned home and told her people what had happened to her. A medicine-man drank natéma in order to find out the nature and origin of the evil. He declared that the woman had been bewitched by the vulture, which was tunchima. The bird had been sent by a sorcerer among the Jibaros who live in the north on the Rio Copotaza, a hostile tribe against whom Shak-aéma had made war some time before. All attempts to cure the woman proved futile. Her condition grew worse and worse, and a few days later she died."

1: Karsten--408-409
116, 754, 791, 763

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Self-suggestion plays an important part in the Indian and must be taken into account if we are to understand the psychology of witchcraft. As soon as he has, for one reason or another, decided that he has been bewitched in a way beyond cure and that his last hour has arrived, he generally dies in spite of any treatment.

However the sorcerer proceeds, he seldom contents himself with shooting one single 'arrow' at an enemy whom he wants to kill. As soon as the victim has been hit once, his relatives generally call in a medicine-man who may be able to extract the tunchi in time and thus save [409] the patient's life. The hostile sorcerer is therefore anxious to repeat his operation several times, shooting one 'arrow' after the other to be surer of the desired result. His aim is to fill the enemy's body with so many tsinsakas that the curing medicine-man is not able to extract them all, in which case the patient is bound to die.

The methods described above are, perhaps, those most commonly practised by the medicine-men. But there are many more also. The more experienced a sorcerer is, the cleverer he is in finding out new and ingenious ways of carrying out his evil designs against his tribesmen. Thus a sorcerer frequently bewitches his secret enemies while staying in their house on a visit, or while receiving them as guests, during a seemingly friendly conversation. The tunchi must then be let off secretly, without gestures and invocations attracting attention. A clever sorcerer is, for instance, supposed to be able

1: Karsten--408-409
116, 754, 791, 763

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

to bewitch a person through an apparently involuntary and accidental touch with the hand or by hiding the tunchi somewhere in the house, or in the food or drink offered the guest. It may also be hidden in the forest, in the foliage of a tree or bush. The 'arrow' is enveloped in leaves, possibly also with certain magical 'medicines', and the small bundle is hung up by the path where the intended victim is expected to pass. Sometimes the Indians, when wandering in the forest, believe they discover by smell the presence of such charmed bundles, hidden by enemy sorcerers. For the same reason the Jibaros, when putting foot on any strange ground or passing by houses inhabited by professed enemies, walk with great caution lest they should suddenly be hit by such hidden 'arrows'. When they arrive at a place in the forest where they intend to pass the night, and where provisional huts of palm leaves have been erected by previous Indian travellers, they never sleep in such huts without changing the roofing, removing the old palm leaves and putting on new ones. The hut may have been previously occupied by a sorcerer who has perhaps left his tunchi hidden among the leaves in order to harm the Indians afterwards sleeping there. Such tricks are often played by Jibaro sorcerers even without reference to pronounced and known enemies. Some of them simply take pleasure in doing harm to other people, be they declared enemies or not."

'Quite commonly sorcery is performed through the eyes. The Jibaros believe in the 'evil eye' (tuna hi), an experienced sorcerer being credited with the power of sending the tunchi not only from his mouth, but also from his eyes. The eye to the Indians is the 'mirror [410] of the soul' in the most real sense of the word.⁽¹⁾ Since it is from the medicine-man's soul that his magic poison comes, we can understand how he is believed to be able to send his tunchi merely by a penetrating look. The effectiveness of the evil eye is increased by the red face-painting. The Jibaro Indian seldom enters a strange house without having the face painted red, the painting being both a protection for himself against the treacherous 'arrow' of his host and a means of eking out the effectiveness of his own occult powers. A red dye often used in similar cases is the one called múspa, composed of the red seeds of the Bixa orellana and the dried and pounded leaves of the plant simaika. The cheeks and especially the parts round the eyes are painted with this bright red dye before entering, with a view to increasing the magical power of the visitor's look. This kind of face-painting is said to act particularly as a love charm, the visiting Indian being thus able to attract and entice the women when they

"1. In the Jibaro language the word for 'eye' (hi) is the same as the word for 'fire'."

l: Karsten--409-410

116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

step forth and offer manioc-beer to the guest. Generally, however, the evil look of the sorcerer entails illness and death for the person on whom it falls."

1: Karsten--410-411
116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The 'evil eye' operates in different ways. Thus the Jibaro sorcerers commonly avail themselves of apparently insignificant wounds and send their arrow into the victim merely by looking at him. A small wound accidentally caused by a knife, for instance, may thus at first be looked upon as only a 'natural' wound. But should the wound not heal within a few days in a normal way, should it, on the contrary, get infected, begin to ache, and cause the swelling of the whole limb, the medicine-men will in most cases declare that these unexpected complications have been brought about by the evil eye of a sorcerer. The following case may illustrate the Indian ideas on this point. A son of the great Jibaro chief Nayapi at Puyo was once brought to me to be cured of a mysterious illness. He showed a small wound on the groin, the origin of which the Indians could not explain and which, in spite of a prolonged treatment by different medicine-men, would not heal. On the contrary, the patient grew worse; some internal disease, accompanied by a swelling of the stomach, set in, and after some days of suffering the young man died. A medicine-man, having drunk the narcotic natéma, gave the following declaration as to the nature of the illness:--the small wound in the groin would not by itself have caused death;[411]but some enemy sorcerer had looked upon it with an evil eye and sent his tunchi into it. The 'arrow' had taken the form of a small boa serpent which had penetrated from the groin into the venter where it had grown, causing the swelling of the stomach and ultimately the patient's death. In cases of snake-bite

1: Karsten--410-411

116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-2

the same explanation is not seldom adhered to. There are, as we have seen, 'natural' snakes and snakes that are tunchima, 'bewitched'. The bite of the former does no particular harm to the person bitten, whereas the bite of the latter often ends fatally. Now in many cases where a snake-bite has unfortunate results, leading to the death of the patient or to serious complications, the Indians reason in the following way: the bite itself would not have caused death; but some malicious person had happened to look at the wound with an evil eye and thus caused the catastrophe. Hence when, among the Jibaros, some one is bitten by a snake, precautions are taken that no suspected person should get an opportunity to see the patient. In fact he is immediately taken to the forest where the medicine-man stays with him alone whilst curing him."

1: Karsten-- 411
116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"A sorcerer may operate all by himself, or he may cooperate with an iguánchi. These demons not only send disease in the way described before, but also shoot with magic arrows like the human sorcerers, and they do it in a more skilled way than the latter. When a sorcerer cooperates with an iguánchi, therefore, there is no remedy for the victim. The demon will deliberately shoot arrow after arrow at him so quickly that no medicine-man is able to extract them, and the patient is certain to die."

l: Karsten--411-412

116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Of the different kinds of magical 'arrows' used by the sorcerers some are regarded as more effective than others. The most dangerous tunchi consist of crystals and bright stones known under the name of kaya wincha, and of which the sorcerers make frequent use when bewitching people. If the victim is hit on the head by such a stone he is supposed to be doomed to certain death; few medicine-men are able to cure such patients. In accordance with this idea such bright stones are almost universally found among the namúra or magical objects of the medicine-men.

When used against a white man the tunchi as a rule is supposed to have no effect whatever. White people are immune against the sorcery of the Indians. There is, the Jibaros say, only one way of charming an apáchi or white man, namely, by shooting at him with an 'arrow' made of a hen's bone (atáshi kúncchi). This idea is, no doubt, connected [412] with the fact that the hens were originally introduced among the Indians by the whites."

1: Karsten--412

116, 754, 791

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Women and children are most liable to sorcery, and a wizard, when desiring to harm an enemy family or tribe, therefore prefers to attack these weaker members of the community. Small children are, on account of their delicacy, especially exposed both to the evil witchcraft of Indian sorcerers and to 'disease'. The Jibaros consequently very unwillingly show their babes to strangers and never take them to the houses of Indians whom they do not know well or with whom they do not stand on a perfectly friendly footing. It may happen that in the strange house some malicious Indian sorcerer looks upon the child with evil eye in consequence of which it will fall ill and die. A man always has more power of resistance than a woman or child, and the older he grows the more 'hardened' he becomes against evil spirits and witchcraft. Old sorcerers and chiefs--even though they be physically decrepit--are among the Jibaros, as among other Indians, most feared on account of their supposed skill in managing their formidable supernatural weapon, the tunchi."

"As an example of the type of episode which frequently produces serious trouble as a result of a visit by strangers, an incident occurring the following night is also recounted. At 4:30 in the morning we were awakened by a sudden uproar when Caneros took his place at the women's end of the house, facing the men, and began shouting in a rhythmic manner, stamping his feet and making warlike gestures with his lance, which he brandished in his right hand. Occasionally his head wife would put her head out from her cubicle and contribute a few words. Caneros continued in this manner for well over half an hour. When he had concluded, Yerenu, who appeared to have considerable influence in the household, took the floor in his place and orated in similar fashion, stepping back and forth as though going through a dance. He likewise talked for more than half an hour while various of the seated men interjected occasional remarks, creating a terrific uproar; not unlike the effect produced by an evangelist haranguing his congregation, punctuated with the Amens and Hallelujahs of his listeners.

About 7 in the morning the discourse died down and Tsamagashi, one of the curakas with us, said a few words. It developed that an old woman had taken sick during the night. It appeared that Tsamagashi was formerly a wishinu. Caneros was accusing him of having caused the old woman's sickness, and stated that unless she got well promptly he would declare war against Tsamagashi and his household. His wife occasionally joined in saying, 'Yes, we will dig up the lance!' Yerenu took up the talk in the same vein and others of Caneros' group put in a word now and then indicating that they would support.

2: Stirling--98-99
116, 574, 537, 754

(1930-1931)1938

Jivaro-2

Tsamagashi then replied that he was now an old man and had lost his power as a wish-inu and denied being responsible for this sickness. He further volunteered the information that in his opinion, we, the whites, had been the cause of the illness. Caneros refused to accept this explanation and denied our responsibility.

After the excitement died down Tsamagashi and his wife, who had accompanied him, left for about an hour and then Tsamagashi returned alone. During the rest of the day the attitudes of Tsamagashi and Caneros gave no indication that anything unusual had transpired. [99]

Fortunately, the old woman felt much better and evidently no further action was taken. There is little doubt that had the woman's condition taken a turn for the worse, serious trouble would have developed."

One other important cause acts in the same way. For the Jívaro there is no natural death (1). All sickness, all death are considered as the result of an evil spell laid by an enemy using a sorcerer as an intermediary. Each tribe possesses its sorcerer or huishinu, and, since the one who is able to cause illness ought to be equally capable of curing it, this individual is also the doctor: in Jíbaro, the same word describes the two functions. These huishinu have considerable influence and power over the life of the savages. They are feared and surrounded by the attentions of all, they are loaded with presents, but their situation is not free from dangers; [240] of all the individuals in a tribe, the sorcerer is the most exposed to a tragic death, either by neighboring people who accuse him of having caused the death of one of their number by witchcraft, or by his own tribe, if he is suspected because the children have a sickness which he does not know or cannot cure even if it is in his own family. The renown of certain huishinu sometimes extends beyond the limits of the group to which they belong, and there is no hesitation in bringing them to the death bed of a person of distinction, eight to ten days' journey away (2). It seems that this function is not the privilege of certain families:

1. Suicide is exceptional. A single traveller points out its frequency among the Agua-runu women. In two months, two committed suicide in the tribe where he was staying. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 82.

2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 147.

13: Rivet--239-240

116, 754, 555

(no date) 1908

Jívaro-2

rather, the most intelligent individuals are attracted by the advantage of the profession, and gradually acquire prestige by their skillfulness and astuteness, in the little circle of people among whom they live.

"The confused jumble of voices about us made it quite impossible to grasp what was happening, but slowly we caught a few odd phrases which told us that this was no ordinary drinking-bout, as we had supposed, but an impromptu gathering, assembled to discuss a startling piece of news--Kun-gupi's brother, who lived on the other side of the river, had come to an untimely end.

It was generally known that this man had been troubled with evil spirits for some weeks past, but at noon to-day, he had unexpectedly drawn his last breath while seated quietly on his rack. It was obvious that he had died a natural death, but Indians attribute every misfortune to the agency of some demon working under the direction of a personal agency. In this case, there was a good deal of discussion as to who the responsible party might be. Someone must have been to blame and a reasonable explanation had to be given. With Indians an explanation must [175] always be forthcoming for everything that happens, and their line of reasoning is often just about as sensible as our modern way of making plain the wonders of nature, which are still incomprehensible to our finite minds. The dead man had had no recognized enemies in the district, otherwise they would have been the first to be suspected. Failure to fix the blame on some fellow tribesman would cause attention to be focused on a stranger, and this is where Johnston and myself came in. Under such conditions, it would not need very much to implicate us in the affair, especially if we had been guilty of some indiscreet act such as photographing the man against his will."

"I knew some of the strange ideas Jivaros have about death, for I was living in a house once when a young warrior succumbed to a severe malady. I asked the father if many Indians died in that part of the country, and was told in a rather superior tone that Indians never die.

'But how about this poor fellow here?' I asked, pointing to the corpse. 'How do you account for his condition?'

'He didn't die,' replied the father; 'he met with an accident.' They hold the extraordinary view that people never die from natural causes, and that a man would live for ever if it were not for the baneful influence of some malignant spirit. Even when the body has 'met with an accident,' they fully believe in a continuation of existence in the spiritual state.

While yet the discussion ran high, another visitor squeezed his way in through the narrow portal and joined the excited group of men inside. He announced that a party of strangers had been seen in the district that very morning--two men carrying bundles, accompanied by a woman. Kuashu was quick to sense complications which might involve him and his family, so we hurriedly bade the neighbours good-bye and were soon streaking home to [176] advise Napi that his life might be in peril if he remained much longer with us."

25: Vigna--40 [2]
116, 761, 754

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

—
Natural death, through infectious sickness or natural human exhaustion, has no explanation, nor do the Jibaros admit of one. The witch who is the supposed author of the death of a Jibaro, will sooner or later be the victim of inexorable vengeance on the part of the members of the family of the deceased. In cases of necessity, these will leave the vengeance as heritage from father to son.

25: Vigna--40[5] .
116, 754

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

They fear witchcraft and tremble before the sinister glance of a Jíbaro whom they do not know, believing that he is a witch. [41]

HARNER]

*Jivaro Souls**This Soul-Stealing or Capturing Process*

263

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *nulem.A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor."

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech." In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

726
774
754
776
202
551

726
774

182
554

774
354

756
754

774
775
761

partnerships often link together four or five or more shamans in the same neighborhood, the higher partner supplying *tsentsak*, and his lower partners reciprocating with native and Western trade goods (*kuit*). Since bewitchers can create only bewitchers, while curers can create both bewitchers and curers (see pp. 155-56), the local hierarchies tend to have the forms shown in Figure 4.

Ex-shamans have testified that intra-neighborhood shaman partners who are bewitchers sometimes even go to the length of mildly bewitching disliked neighbors so that their curing shaman partners can profit in trade goods from treating the induced illness. The bewitching partner expects his curing shaman associate, in turn, never to tell a layman that the former was responsible for an illness or death. The curing shaman may even give his bewitching partner an occasional gift from his accumulated store of wealth, thus reversing the usual flow of *kuit* (see Figure 4, B). More frequently,

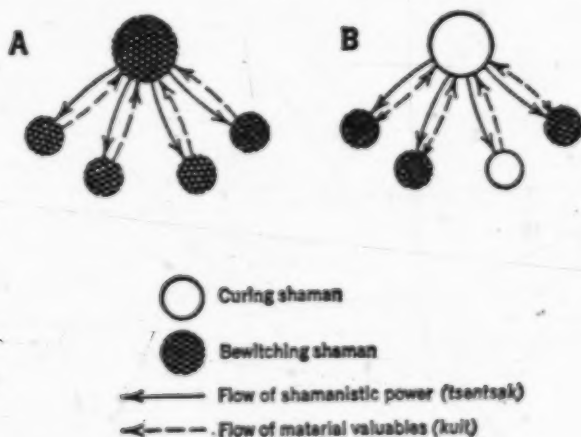


FIGURE 4
Schematic diagram of local shamanistic hierarchies

- 754 the curing shaman covertly reciprocates by later supplying
756 his bewitching partner with a new supply of supernatural power in exchange for only a minor payment, instead of the normally major gift of a shotgun.

754 A local bewitching shaman hierarchy also sometimes acts
628 in concert as a "raiding party" to go together to kill, through witchcraft, a common enemy in another neighborhood. Using the method indicated elsewhere (see pp. 157-58), they secretly shoot their *tsentsak* from hiding near the house of their intended victim and then return home. Frequently, they remain together a few days in the house of their higher partner to await word that the enemy has become ill. Informants claimed that such concerted action "always" resulted in the intended victim immediately becoming ill.

Trading Partners

- 441 With conflict and violence common, and lacking any corporate kinship groups to provide security, the Jivaro create
571 social bonds by making "friends" (*amigri*) in a formalized
572 manner through the exchange of trade goods. Such *amigri* pairs, or trading partnerships, constitute the strongest male social units within the same generation. These partners become mutually obligated to one another to a degree exceeding the obligations of brothers. In fact, it is not unusual
[593] for brothers, or even fathers and sons, to become "friends" in order to formalize their sense of mutual obligation to one another. While trading partners commonly live in different neighborhoods, many *amigri* dwell in the same neighborhood, and sometimes even in the same house. Households within the same neighborhood, linked by such formalized bonds,

774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings
 778 the new power, or *kakarma*, of the incoming soul but also
 serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby
 prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is
 limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls
 simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul
 makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of
 an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while
 the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of
 the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate
 power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new
 ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature be-
 cause, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four
 or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
 • [754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus
 drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Ac-
 cordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
 [721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need en-
 courages the individual to participate in a killing expedition
 every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot die as the result of
 774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interper-
 721 sonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy at-
 tempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude
 to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process
 involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natemā*,
 beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the
 name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul
 is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be
 assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul,
 enter his body, never to return to the body of its former
 possessor.⁷

774 The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
 721

definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.⁸ In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing in betwitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

- 774 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul
 • 754 in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A
 756 shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he
 kills by means of sorcery.

774 The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he
 761 cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of con-
 [763] tagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two
 is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does
 not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily
 dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment
 of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the
 first time. The exact number of these completely new,
 freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased
 person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had ac-
 quired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the
 moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation
 [821] of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and
 lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of
 the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and
 temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of
 Jivaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are
 "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence
 if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak⁹

- 774 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul,
 784 is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who
 has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Fur-
 thermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person
 who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or super-
 natural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

THE HIDDEN WORLD

135

776 particularly deadly, and, on rare occasions to kill shamans
 756 with whom he is angry. No shaman is believed capable of
 778 defending himself from the *tseentsak* of Tsuni.
 823

757 Laymen are not able to cure or bewitch, because they
 do not have these magical darts in their control. Laymen
 can treat the "white man's diseases," previously mentioned,
 with herb remedies, but such treatment of illness is little
 developed in the society. Shamans never use herb remedies.

• 754 Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies
 776 to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may
 756 suck such spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies
 of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The
 spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman
 masters from attacks. The following account presents the
 ideology of Jivaro shamanism from the point of view of the
 shamans themselves.

756 To give the novice some *tseentsak*, the practicing shaman
 778 regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken
 776 *natemä*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are
 276 contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives
 it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain
 upon taking it into his stomach and stays on his bed for ten
 days, repeatedly drinking *natemä*. The Jivaro believe they
 can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and
 regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tseentsak*
 periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice,
 apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

[834] The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual
 intercourse for several months. If he fails in self-discipline,
 as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the
 end of the first month, a *tseentsak* emerges from his mouth.

754 With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experi-
 756 ences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tseentsak*
 778

to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*warwek*, or *yabauc̄i urwišin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peper urwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself. 754 • 756 778

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer. [834]

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunc̄i*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability. [755]

According to Jivaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemā*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of 778 276 787

778 the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natemā*.
 276 When he does this, the magical darts appear in new forms as
 787 demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects,
 [776] the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in
 [825] various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys,
 who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

- 754 Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known in-
 628 dividual and thus is usually done to neighbors or, at the most,
 721 fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intra-tribal
 assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense
 committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching
 and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale head-
 hunting raids conducted against entire households of enemy
 tribes.

754 To bewitch, the shaman takes *natemā* and secretly ap-
 276 proaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the
 778 forest, he drinks green tobacco water, enabling him to re-
 gurgitate a *tsentsak*, which he throws as his victim comes out
 of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown
 with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the
 victim's body, causing death within a period of a few days to
 several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply
 lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place,
 fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any
 member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually
 a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished,
 he returns secretly to his own home.

754 One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching
 process among the Jivaro is that, as far as could be learned,
 the victim is given no specific indication that someone is
 bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim
 to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest
 he take protective measures by immediately procuring the

services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754 •

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*. 754
776
825
[755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [828]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually re-supplying the *wakani* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *wakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754
776

756 The curing shaman, under the influence of *natemā*, sees the
 776 *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered
 276 with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill
 787 this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole
 vulnerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has
 not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears
 to be simply a tarantula.

- 754 Shamans may also kill or injure a person by using magical
 778 darts, *anamuk*, to create supernatural animals that attack a
 825 victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsen-*
tsak, he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing
 it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone
 manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda,
 which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to
 drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed
 snake as a *tsentsak*, creating a poisonous serpent to bite his
 victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create
 jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

754 About five years after receiving his *tsentsak*, a bewitching
 778 shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough
 276 *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test in-
 [787] volves bewitching a tree. The shaman, under the influence of
natemā, attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at
 the point where its two main branches join. If his strength
 and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment
 the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is in-
 visible to an observer who is not under the influence of the
 hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable
 of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible,
 he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply
 of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for
 this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved

weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemä*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemä*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun,

755 darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without
 778 taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares
 276 the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but
 776 regularly, he must drink *natemá* for the same purpose and
 to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

756 While curing under the influence of *natemá*, the curing
 787 shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Gener-
 [276] ally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who
 lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows
 this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher,
 particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I
 attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had
 seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused
 the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pres-
 sure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to
 attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

756 Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase
 778 *tiemtsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in
 power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman
 • 754 who has recently received a new supply of magical darts.
 Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can re-
 peatedly purchase new supplies of *tiemtsak* from other sha-
 mans, particularly *payú* (see pp. 119-20).

[276] Shamans can take back *tiemtsak* from others to whom
 they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the
 shaman drinks *natemá*, and, using his *tiemtsak*, creates a
 "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the
 other shaman. Then he shoots a *tiemtsak* along this rainbow.
 This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an ex-
 plosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of
 this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily for-
 gets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus per-
 mitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

low. A shaman who has had his *tiemtsak* taken away in this 754 •
manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks 756
natemá. The sudden loss of his *tiemtsak* will tend to make 778
him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a be-
witcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this
weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by
his experience, he can again purchase *tiemtsak* from some
other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the 763
log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used [202]
to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity
usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether
anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All 764
corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors
so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain."
Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to [768]
live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an
informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them.
Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead,
although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned
in the normal course of events, family members will return
when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm
thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large 766
beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position.
An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and
the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is bur-
ied in the center of the house with some *choonta* palm staves

Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

I was born to die fighting.

538

Jivaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the interior Jivaro as to what is correct, normative social behavior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them. 626 183

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis among the Jivaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic illnesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed

754 •
682
626

626 bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination
 754 with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent
 682 vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if
 [276] one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic
 [787] beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten
 [628] the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society
 [721] and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jivaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 Although not believed by the Jivaro to be quite as pervasive
 [682] an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food
 [278] likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the
 602 Jivaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms
 593 purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved
 69 party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.

628 a shotgun to the aggrieved party as a compensation to terminate the matter. If the aggrieved party, primarily considered
 682 to be the eldest male of the murdered man's conjugal family,
 728 accepts this gift, then the gift-receiver takes the responsibility
 [431] for seeing that his kinsmen consider that the matter is finished. He warns the other relatives of the dead man that if they attempt to kill the gift-giver for the old offense, they will have to fight him (the gift-receiver) as well.

628 While sanctions against murder by physical violence are,
 682 in return, expected to be by physical violence, punitive assassination of one who has murdered through bewitching may be
 • 754 either by means of sorcery or physical violence. Normally, the sanction for a first murder offense by means of sorcery is also assassination by sorcery. For a second homicidal sorcery offense, physical violence is considered to be the more proper sanction.

682 The importance of the concept of equivalent retaliation is indicated by the sanction considered proper when a man is
 562 poisoned by a woman. Poisoning (one of the favorite forms
 278 of murder) is done almost exclusively by women, since they alone prepare and serve the food and beer to guests. When a man is fatally poisoned, the aggrieved family may not attempt to kill the guilty woman, if they feel that the death of a woman would be inadequate to compensate for the death
 [593] of a man. In such a case, they assume that the proper sanction is to poison the guilty woman's brother. Often, however, the vengeance is wreaked directly on the woman believed responsible. They usually have to wait several years in order to catch the victim off guard at a feast in order to poison him or her successfully.

[754] In both poisoning and sorcery, there is the problem of
 [727] properly identifying the guilty party. Most poisoning is done at the large *tsantia* victory feasts, where a dozen or more

women of different households are continually circulating among the guests serving manioc beer. The poisoner, under such circumstances, is very difficult to detect. The family of the victim, however, invariably accepts the opinion of the dying victim as to the identity of the guilty party, and her brother is marked for death.

A curing shaman who has attempted unsuccessfully to cure a fatal case of sorcery is expected to tell the deceased's survivors the identity of the bewitching shaman. Sometimes the shaman does so, but at least as often he simply says that the fatal magical dart came from a shaman "far away" whom he cannot recognize. In this way, informants say, the shaman avoids the reprisals which might result against himself if he were to name a specific Jivaro as the guilty party.

It is not believed proper to assassinate personally a brother or trading partner in retaliation even for the murder of one's wife or child, although cases do occur. The more common approach to administering the punishment is for the aggrieved party to plan and organize the avenging raid without actually participating. In such a situation, a non-related or distantly related *kakaram* may be invited to come and carry out the assassination.

Murder by witchcraft requires the sanction of homicide by physical violence, but most non-fatal illnesses ascribed to witchcraft do not usually evoke retaliation. One reason is that normally a curing shaman does not reveal the identity of the bewitcher except in fatal cases. When retaliation is desired for non-fatal witchcraft illnesses, the recovered patient hires a bewitching shaman to bewitch the original bewitcher.

Sexual offenses, with the exception of wife-stealing, normally do not involve the sanction of homicide. The punishment varies in specific instances, but most commonly consists of slashing the forehead and scalp of the offender with a ma-

682
562
278
[127]682
156682
593
441

[701]

754 •
683
[682]
[756]

684

178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
 571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address
 (amici) between people in general, in preference to kinship
 [601] terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to
 [572] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga-
 [576] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person
 addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
 178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
 601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
 576 a men's term of reference (*awe*) by women. A few Achuara
 terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal
 trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which
 shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and
 the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
 754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
 156 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
 181 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
 556 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables,"
 especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these
 [571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of
 [572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighbor-
 hoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase
 in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a
 growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase
 in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting
 development of some individual differentiation in terms of
 wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated
 [431] by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate
 goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts.
 [753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have
 increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

CULTURAL CHANGE

203

1778 curried in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
 774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
 773 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
 [714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a
 wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this
 technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields
 as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of
 firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has
 become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attrib-
 276-uted to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans
 824 have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*.
 756 Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, fami-
 755 lies tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for
 use by shamans when they come to cure family members
 believed to be suffering from bewitching.

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jivaro are
 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
 775 "ordinary" souls (*nekis uskani*) may go to the interior of the
 774 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
 823 from the frontier Jivaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
 177 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jivaro,
 797 Tupari, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few
 ideological items among the interior Jivaro clearly ascribable
 to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
 682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the case of
 • 754 adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical vio-
 lence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced
 murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers
 of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form
 of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or am-
 binations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jivaro

partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

178

682

754 •

178

181

461

[837]

[571]

[556]

178

628

721

[754]

[682]

178

721

[726]

[441]